

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-11 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20

USIA-15 ACDA-19 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 EB-11 SIL-01 LAB-06

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R 020802Z AUG 74

FM AMEMBASSY MADRID  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9615  
INFO AMEMBASSY LISBON  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT, PFOR, SP

SUBJ: COMMUNIST-SUPPORTED SPANISH DEMOCRATIC  
JUNTA ANNOUNCED IN PARIS

REF: A. MADRID A-143 OF JULY 17, 1974

B. MADRID A131 OF JULY 5, 1974

SUMMARY: SPANISH COMMUNIST PARTY (SCP) LEADER CARRILLO  
AND CALVO SERER, FORMER ADVISOR OF DON JUAN AND EDITOR  
OF BANNED NEWSPAPER "MADRID" IN EXILE FOR PAST THREE YEARS,  
JOINTLY ANNOUNCED IN PARIS JULY 29 FORMATION OF DEMOCRATIC  
JUNTA. TWELVE-POINT PROGRAM IN DECLARATION AMOUNTS TO  
RESTATEMENT OF TRADITIONAL SCP POSITIONS. INVOLVEMENTT OF  
SERRER AND ALLEGEDLY OTHER SPANISH "DEMOCRATIC FORCES"  
IN JUNTA GIVE IT SOME RESPECTABILITY. LOCAL SPANISH MEDIA  
HAVE REPORTED EVENT WITHOUT GIVING DETAILS OF JUNTA'S  
PROGRAM WHICH HAVE BEEN REPORTED IN FULL BY "RADIO  
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INDEPENDIENTE" (CLANDESTINE) AND WESTERN PRESS. TIMING

OF ANNOUNCEMENT CALCULATED TO OFFER DEMOCRATIC ALTERNATIVE  
TO CONTINUATION OF FRANCO'S SYSTEM IN EVENT OF FRANCO'S  
DEATH. END SUMMARY

1. LOCAL PRESS REPORTED JULY 30 FORMATION IN PARIS OF  
"DEMOCRATIC JUNTA" PURPORTEDLY REPRESENTING VARIOUS  
GROUPINGS IN SPANISH POLITICAL SPECTRUM. NEWSPAPERS  
SAID THAT SCP SECRETARY GENERAL SANTIAGO CARRILLO AND  
RAFAEL CALVO SERER, FORMER EDITOR OF NEWSPAPER "MADRID"  
WHICH WAS CLOSED THREE YEARS AGO AT GOVT ORDER AND LONG-  
TIME PERSONAL ADVISOR OF DON JUAN, COUNT OF BARCELONA,  
ANNOUNCED FORMATION OF JUNTA AND HELD PRESS CONFERENCE TO  
DISCUSS ITS PROGRAM. LOCAL MEDIA HAVE NOT SUPPLIED  
ANY DETAILS OF JUNTA'S PROGRAM NOR HAVE THERE BEEN ANY  
COMMENTARIES. JUNTA'S FORMATION WAS ANNOUNCED TO  
REPORTEDLY SOME 70 CORRESPONDENTS AT INTERCONTINENTAL HOTEL.

2. ACCORDING TO FBIS AND NEWS AGENCY REPORTS, JUNTA'S  
PROGRAM INCLUDES TWELVE POINTS: (1) FORMATION OF PROVISIONAL  
GOVT, (2) POLITICAL AMNESTY, (3) LEGALIZATION  
OF POLITICAL PARTIES, (4) TRADE UNION FREEDOMS, (5) RIGHT  
TO STRIKE, OF ASSEMBLY AND PEACEFUL DEMONSTRATION, (6) MEDIA  
FREEDOM, (7) FREEDOM FROM ARBITRARY JUDICIAL TREATMENT,  
(8) POLITICAL NEUTRALITY OF ARMED FORCES, (9) RECOGNITION OF  
POLITICAL PERSONALITY OF CATALONIAN, BASQUE, AND GALICIAN  
PEOPLES UNDER UNITY OF SPANISH STATE, (10) SEPARATION  
OF CHURCH/STATE, (11) HOLDING OF POPULAR CONSULTATION  
BETWEEN 12 AND 18 MONTHS FROM DAY OF RESTORATION OF DEMOCRATIC  
RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS, AND (12) INTEGRATION OF SPAIN IN EC.

3. ANNOUNCEMENT APPEALED TO PATRIOTISM AND PROFESSIONAL  
HONOR OF ARMED FORCES AND MENTIONED "RECENT MILITARY  
JUNTAS OF MILITARY CHIEFS AND OFFICERS AS DETERMINING  
FACTOR FOR DEVELOPING PROFESSIONAL CONSCIENCE IN THE ARMY".  
PROGRAM ALSO MAKES SPECIFIC APPEAL TO CHURCH AND WORKERS  
WHO WOULD BE PREPARED TO GO INTO ACTION WITH OTHER  
DEMOCRATIC FORCES AT ANNOUNCEMENT OF "NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC  
ACTION" WHICH JUNTA WOULD ISSUE AT "OPPORTUNE POLITICAL  
MOMENT". CALVE SERER AND CARRILLO WERE NAMED AS LEADERS  
OF JUNTA WHO WOULD CONDUCT JUNTA'S BUSINESS IN  
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PARIS PENDING AN OPPORTUNE TIME TO ANNOUNCE ESTABLISHMENT  
OF JUNTA'S OFFICE IN MADRID.

4. IN SUBSEQUENT PRESS CONFERENCE CALLO SAID JUNTA  
WAS COMPOSED OF RIGHT-WING FIGURES LIBERAL MONARCHISTS,  
REPRESENTATIVES OF SPANISH FINANCE AND INDUSTRY, PROMINENT  
FIGURES IN CATALONIA AND GALICIA, SCP, AND WORKERS  
COMMISSIONS. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTIONING, CARRILLO DID NOT

DENY THAT SOME MONARCHIST MEMBERS OF JUNTA HAD PERSONAL TIES WITH PRINCE JUAN CARLOS, THE CURRENT HEAD OF STATE IN FUNCTIONS. CALVO SERER MENTIONED HIS DIRECT CONTACTS WITH FRANCO BETWEEN 1945 AND 1956 AND SAID THAT HE HAD CONCLUDED THAT FRANCO REGIME COULD NOT LIBERALIZE ITSELF. HE REFERRED TO IMPACT OF CARRERO BLANCO ASSASSINATION, THE PORTUGUESE COUP D'ETAT AND CURRENT DEMOCRATIC CHANGES IN GREECE AS LEAVING SPAIN ISOLATED WITH THE LAST EUROPEAN DICTATORSHIP. IN HIS VIEW, DEVELOPMENTS IN SPAIN TODAY WERE FOLLOWING SAME PATH AS IN PORTUGAL.

5. IN PRESS CONFERENCE WHICH HE GAVE JULY 22 IN PARIS HOTEL, CARRILLO SAID THAT SPANISH CHURCH WAY DRAWING AWAY FROM FRANCO REGIME AND WAS PLAYING POSITIVE ROLE IN CURRENT SITUATION. HE REFERRED TO HIS CONTACTS WITH LPRINCE HUGO DE BORBON, HEAD OF CARLIST PARTY WHICH HE CREDITED WITH BEING ONE OF BEST ORGANIZED FORCES IN SPAIN. (ACCORDING TO PRESS ACCOUNTS, CARLISTS ARE ONE OF SO-CALLED DEMOCRATIC FORCES SUPPORTING NEW DEMOCRATIC JUNTA.) CARRILLO WENT ON TO SAY THAT UNTIL JUNE 1, 1974, HE HAD THOUGHT THAT COUNT OF BARCELONA COULD HAVE HAD A ROLE IN ASSISTING TRANSFORMATION OF SPAIN INTO A DEMOCRACY. HE NO LONGER BELIEVED THIS NOR DID HE THINK DON JUAN'S SON, PRINCE JUAN CARLOS, WAS THE MAN FOR THE JOB. AT SAME TIME CARRILLO POSTULATED THAT HE WOULD BE WILLING TO SERVE IN GOVT UNDER RULE OF A KING PROVIDED THAT A DEMOCRATIC, CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY HAD BEEN DECIDED BY SPANISH PEOPLE.

6. EMBASSY COMMENT: SPANISH OBSERVERS HAVE BEEN ASTOUNDED THAT CALVO SERER, A WELL-KNOWN OPUS DEI FIGURE, AND UP UNTIL RECENTLY DON JUAN'S CLOSEST POLITICAL ADVISOR, COULD HAVE JOINED FORCES WITH CARRILLO. SERER HAS APPARENTLY GAMBLED THAT BY JOINING THE JUNTA, HE MIGHT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ATTRACT OTHER DEMOCRATIC FORCES WITHIN SPAIN AND GENERATE PRESSURES FOR DEMOCRATIZATION ALONG LINES WHICH HE HAD LONG ADVOCATED TO DON JUAN. IT IS NOTEWORTHY THAT SERER WAS NOT PRESENT AT FORMAL DINNER AND RECEPTION GIVEN BY DON JUAN LATE JUNE IN ESTORIAL IN PORTUGAL (REF B.) SERER FAILED IN HIS EFFORT TO CONVINCE DON JUAN TO ISSUE A PROGRAMATIC STATEMENT AT THAT TIME AND HAS NOW CHANGED HORSES BY ALIGNING HIMSELF WITH THE SCP, PRESUMABLY IN HOPE OF PLAYING A LEADING POLITICAL ROLE IN THE POST-FRANCO PERIOD. IT IS MORE LIKELY THAT HE HAS DISCREDITED HIMSELF FOR GOOD WITH SPANISH NON-COMMUNIST DEMOCRATIC FORCES.

7. FORMATION OF DEMOCRATIC JUNTA IS LATEST STEP BY EXILED FORCES, PARTICULARLY THE SCP, IN COLLABORATION WITH INTERNAL

FORCES, TO MOBILIZE PRESSURES FOR INTERNAL POLITICAL CHANGES IN SPAIN. JUNTA'S 12- POINT PROGRAM COMES CLOSE TO RESEMBLING SCP PROGRAM. TO MANY, THE JUNTA WILL BE NOTHING MORE THAN A CAMOUFLAGED POPULAR FRONT DESPITE CARRILLO'S ASSERTIONS THAT TIMES HAVE CHANGED AND SCP IS PREPARED TO COLLABORATE WITH OTHER POLITICAL FORCES, THE CHURCH, AND THE ARMY. ONCE AGAIN, CARRILLO HAS DEMONSTRATED THE EFFECTIVENESS OF HIS RECENT TACTICS WITH THE MEDIA, WHICH HAVE PLAYED INTO HIS HANDS, EVEN IN SPAIN, BY REPORTING HIS ACTIVITIES (REF A.) DISSEMINATION OF JUNTA'S 12-POINT PROGRAM CLANDESTINELY IS LIKELY TO BE ACCOMPANIED BY CONTINUED BROADCASTING BY RADIO INDEPENDIENTE AND SALE OF FOREIGN

NEWSPAPERS IN SPAIN REPORTING JUNTA'S PROGRAM.

8. TIMING HAS BEEN IMPORTANT IN CARRILLO/SERER ANNOUNCEMENT. SPANISH PRESS, AFTER PUBLISHING EXTENSIVE REPORTS OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN NEIGHBORING PORTUGAL, HAS CLOSELY FOLLOWED CYPRUS CRISIS AND ENSUING INTERNAL POLITICAL CHANGES IN GREECE. FRANCO IS KNOWN TO HAVE BEEN KEENLY INTERESTED IN FOLLOWING PORTUGUESE AND CYPRUS DEVELOPMENTS. EVEN CHOICE OF WORDS USED TO DESCRIBE MOVEMENT, I.E. JUNTA, APPARENTLY WAS MADE TO SUGGEST PARALLEL WITH PORTUGUESE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS. ON THE HEELS OF FRANCO'S RECENT ILLNESS, THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF DEMOCRATIC JUNTA WILL UNQUESTIONABLY INCREASE POLITICAL LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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FERMENT IN SPAIN WHICH HAS ALREADY INCREASED MARKEDLY SINCE BEGINNING OF YEAR. EMBASSY HAS NO REPORTS OF MILITARY JUNTAS DESCRIBED BY CARRILLO AND SERER IN SPAIN, BUT, BY MENTIONING THEIR EXISTENCE, THEY OBVIOUSLY ARE ISSUING AN INVITATION FOR FORMATION OF POLITICALLY-ORIENTED JUNTAS IN ARMED FORCES ALONG PORTUGUESE LINES FOR PURPOSE OF SUPPORTING DEMOCRATIC JUNTA'S PROGRAM. RIVERO

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## Message Attributes

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